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WAR & PEACE

Germany in the spotlight as the Big Four meet in drama-packed Geneva

By Kumar Goshal

TEN YEARS and a day after the Potsdam conference, the heads of the victorious powers of World War II (this time including France) gathered to discuss steps to avoid a third world war. The four powers meeting at Geneva's Palace of Nations were not fully representative of the power reality of today's world: Peking was absent; West Germany's powerful Chancellor Adenauer remained in the wings, with a direct teleprinter line installed between his villa and the headquarters of his representatives at Geneva.

In assessing the summit conference results, it is important to set out the four powers' pre-conference approach to the two major subjects of discussion: German reunification within the framework of European security, and disarmament.

THE BRITISH VIEW: The British, according to Drew Middleton (N. Y. **Times**, 7/12), saw "Germany as the central problem facing heads of government" at Geneva. They were anxious to take the initiative to present the Eden plan for German reunification because of the "conviction that the Geneva conference may represent the last opportunity open to Western victors of World War II" to shape German unity. If Geneva failed to make a start on settling Germany's future, London felt, reunification "may be left to the Germans and Russians at some future date" when "other chancellors will govern Bonn" and German demand for unity will be even stronger than it is now.

Herblock in Washintgon Post

"It's really more of a two-power conference, ain't it?"

The Eden plan called for "free elections" in East and West Germany to choose a national assembly to draft a constitution for a united Germany, which would presumably be free to make its own alliances. But **Times** correspondent Harold Callender reported (7/12) from Paris that

> ". . . the Western powers intend [Germany] shall choose . . . the Atlantic alliance. This is the major premise of the revised Eden plan and the major aim of Western policy."

"PACKAGE DEAL": Two days before the conference Joseph Newman reported (N.Y. **Herald Tribune**, 7/16) that the Western Big Three had decided to negotiate German unity, European security and disarmament as a "package deal," while the U.S.S.R. was suggesting that the Geneva conference could deal fruitfully with security and disarmament even without agreement on German unity. The obvious intransigence of a "package deal" position apparently forced the Big Three to dissociate disarmament from the other two issues at the last moment.

The Soviet position on German reunification was made clear in a **Tass** statement (7/12) replying to U.S. Secy. of State Dulles' accusation that Moscow had lost interest in uniting Germany. Asserting that "the Soviet Union

(Continued on Page 3)

Can anybody think of a better idea?

This was Central Park in New York on July 18, when the thermometer hit 96—and it's been close to that for almost two weeks. As far as we're concerned, you can HAVE July. On Murray St. we try to keep cool by hoping for warmth at Geneva.

GENERAL IKE'S "MORAL CRUSADE" IN THE MUCK

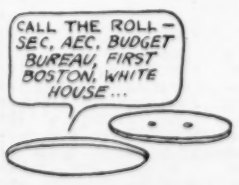
The Dixon-Yates deal—from A to Zero

By Lawrence Emery

THE DIXON-YATES DEAL is dead, but it isn't buried yet and the smell is likely to linger a long time. The scheme, which apparently originated in the Budget Bureau with White House blessings, was to have been the first step in a long-range plan to deliver TVA, greatest of all public power developments, into the hands of private utilities.

Since this couldn't be done legally under existing laws, some extra-legal moves were employed. Sen. Estes Kefauver (D-Tenn.) has charged that President Eisenhower himself, up to the last minute, was "apparently trying to cover up" the facts of "a shocking piece of duplicity" bearing "a very strong suggestion the criminal code has been violated."

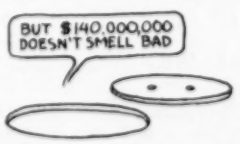
THE BEGINNING: Not all the facts have yet been uncovered, but some of the sordid ones are now on the record There hasn't been much of an outcry from the great U.S. free press, and the Eisenhower "moral crusade" crawls on as though nothing has happened.



Upon taking office, Eisenhower and his banker-advisers were determined that TVA should not further expand even though power needs in the region are increasing, with the government itself taking vast chunks of TVA electricity for its atomic energy installations. To meet the need the Eisenhower people decided to sponsor a private combine—Dixon-Yates—in TVA territory and link it into the TVA system, even though the power generated would cost the government $140,000,000 more than if TVA built a new plant of its own.

HELLO, ADOLPHE? It was a cozy scheme. On Jan. 14, 1954, Rowland R. Hughes, director of the Budget Bureau, phoned Adolphe H. Wenzell, a vice-president and director of the New York investment banking firm, the First Boston Corp. He asked him to become a part-time consultant on his staff because a steam-power proposal in the Tennessee Valley was under consideration. Wenzell accepted the post and, from all that is now known, cooked up the Dixon-Yates deal. Sen. Kefauver calls him "the genius who worked up . . . this whole idea of destroying or cutting down the TVA."

By April 10, 1954, all the blueprints and plans for the Dixon-Yates scheme were completed. Wenzell went back to



New York and his firm became the financial agent for the $120,000,000 development. In fact, while he was working for the Budget Bureau, Wenzell shuttled back and forth between Washington and his own office and, as Sen. Kefauver now says, "served two masters." He cites a well-known law against "interested persons acting as government agents."

THE SMOKING-OUT: But in addition to Wenzell's dual role, there is the scarcely-mentioned fact that National City Bank—of which Hughes was an officer when he became Budget Bureau

(Continued on Page 7)

9 WEEKS IN PRISON

Belfrage bail still in doubt

AS THE GUARDIAN went to press, its editor Cedric Belfrage was still held in a federal prison while his attorneys sought his freedom on bail pending action on his application for a Supreme Court review of an order to deport him. He has been imprisoned since May 13 when the Board of Immigration Appeals upheld the order.

The U. S. Court of Appeals on July 12, after a month of deliberation, affirmed the order of deportation and dismissed a motion for bail as "academic." Next step for the defense was to seek bail from an individual Justice of the Supreme Court, which is now in summer recess. Results of that effort were still not known at press time.

Just A Gentle Reminder

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NATIONAL GUARDIAN 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y.

THE MAIL BAG

Great camp probe

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

I see by the papers that N.Y. State Sen. Larkin is going to investigate summer camps for possible subversion. I note also that the Great Liberal Gov. Harriman has goaded him into it.

It must take unflinching courage to probe a children's summer camp. Think of the possibilities of red welts caused by mosquitoes, red rashes from poison ivy, red sunburn, bites by red ants, etc., etc.

You New Yorkers should be glad and proud that Sen. Larkin is heroic enough to run such risks for freedom's cause. **C. W. Fowler**

A hot question

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Every season of torrid, humid weather it is most surprising to see thousands of men wearing undershirt, shirt of long sleeves and collar and tie which binds the lower part of the neck with thick fabric.

One cannot but ask: Are there no sartorially creative minds in the U.S. to revolutionize the summer garb for men? **A. Garcia Diaz**

Our higher angels

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.

Enclosed is $20 for the GUARDIAN. This is being given by a few of us in honor of the 14th wedding anniversary of the Freedmans. We will have our barbecue or cookout in August. **E. R.**

●

DENVER, COLO.

The enclosed check for $50 represents results from a "two timer" birthday dinner . . . $1 for the main meal. For dessert, they were told to return in two weeks, pay another $1 for all the fresh homemade strawberry shortcake they could eat. **M.**

●

ONTARIO, CALIF.

Enclosed is check for $15 from a musicale we held for the GUARDIAN. We had hoped to do better but now we'll see what we can do on subscriptions. **E. M.**

●

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Enclosed is $40. This is the conclusion of the raffling off of the stole I made I wrote to you about months ago. We had a lovely party. The stole brought in $125 which the GUARDIAN received in one way or another. **N. H.**

●

CULVER CITY, CALIF.

The enclosed $20 is for the Belfrage Defense Fund. We raised it by having a spaghetti dinner for our friends. Everyone enjoyed it so much that we are planning a series of them for the same cause.
A. D., MEC, J. T.

Where ?

MITCHELL, S. D.

Enclosed is a check for $15 to help maintain the GUARDIAN and free its worthy editor.

About two months ago an FBI agent visited me to inquire into the political activities of a friend of mine. He lectured me dutifully on the horrors of communism and the insidious activities of fellow-travellers.

How crazy can you get dept.

(Divn. of returning sanity)

In a scientific article entitled "The Use of Reserpine in Private Psychiatric Practice," by S. K. Smith, published in the Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences, Vol. 61, Art. 1, p. 209 (1955), Dr. Smith describes the results of the tranquilizing, sedative drug reserpine:

"The intensity of recurrent compulsion has been diminished after the onset of medication. . . . It would be difficult to express in medical terminology the nature of the sequence more tersely than did one patient, recently a State Dept. member. He remarked: 'Co-existence is possible now.' He was beginning to appreciate the value of tranquility, insight and accessibility personally, if not internationally."

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: M. F., Hastings-on-Hudson, N. Y.

A copy of the GUARDIAN was plainly visible in the magazine rack and a Social Questions Bulletin (Meth. Fed. for Social Action) lay on the table. He made no reference to this, but reviewed in detail how the GUARDIAN had followed the "subversive" line ever since its inception.

He insisted the FBI was not interested in the political activities of such progressive organizations as the Farmers Union, Socialist Party, or AFL, but coached me diligently on how to detect subversive groups within those organizations. Thru all of this, I guess I proved to be rather a dull pupil.

That same evening my wife and I attended a concert of Fred Waring and the Pennsylvanians here at the Mitchell Corn Palace. Their theme song was, "Where, oh, where but in America can you sing sweet Freedom's song?" **Willard Barth**

She herself

WINNETKA, ILL.

This money is for the newspaper to help it along. We want you to keep going. I saved the money from my allowance. My Sunday school worked up some money and wanted to give it to you but felt the Rosenberg children needed it too, so we decided to give it to them. I know you need it too, so me myself gave you a part of my money. **Josie Lipson**

To Gen. Ike

TIOGA, PA.

You're at the summit now.
Better not start a row—
If you make a war switch
You'll land in the ditch!
You're at the summit now.
Maurice Becker

The right name

EL CAJON, CALIF.

It was reported by one of the local radio newsmen that one morning in San Diego during the questioning of witnesses by the Un-American Activities Committee the attorneys for the witnesses were shouted down by some of the spectators. Nothing was done to stop this.

Since admission tickets were distributed and their holders admitted before the general public, can it be that this very un-American procedure was staged?

Whether it was or not to me it seems the committee again lived up to its name for it certainly conducts un-American activities, without peer. **Robert Karger**

Carl Braden writes

ANNISTON, ALA.

This is the first chance I've had to write in several months. I am therefore taking this opportunity to thank you and your readers for the help given me during that period.

Stories in the GUARDIAN helped to inform people everywhere as to the nature of the frame-up against me, my wife, and the five other defendants in the Kentucky sedition case.

The response of GUARDIAN readers was terrific. Many of them sent money to help pay legal fees and the many other expenses involved in a case of this kind. Some sent money to me at the prison, but I was unable to write to them to express my appreciation. My outgoing mail was limited to three letters a week and those had to go to relatives.

The value of the GUARDIAN in giving people the straight stuff on domestic and foreign affairs cannot be overestimated. I am heartened to find other news organs and organizations becoming alert to the dangers that the GUARDIAN has been warning about for years. It gives me hope that cases like ours will soon be won and that peace and brotherhood will come about sooner than many expect.

Right now I am getting reacquainted with my little boy, Jimmy, almost 4, and my little girl, Anita, 2. They had not seen me since last Thanksgiving, a fact that Jim pointed out to me soon after Anne and I arrived here. We are still having a time explaining my long absence to Jim. He knows it has something to do with getting a house for the Wades—and that is a good start. **Carl Braden**

This Week

"Wow! Am I going to ban this!"

Teen-ager on UMT

GLEN WILD, N.Y.

Dear GUARDIAN reader: As a human being and a teen-ager of 14, I am hoping that world peace will forever reign on this earth. If UMT is installed in our nation such a peace shall be impossible.

You, as progressives, must do all in your power to combat UMT from becoming law. As I have done, write to each of your representatives in Congress, your President, and to the Vice-President. It is through you that we can defeat the horrors of Universal Military Training. **Allen Young**

"Wave of prosperity"

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Wall Street financiers and their self-styled economists can keep repeating stories of the continuous wave of prosperity that we "are now having," but they no doubt say it with tongue in cheek.

No country has shown, in past history, that it can withstand a tremendously heavy armament program without its ultimate devastation economically. Russia is realistic in this theory and hopes that the U.S. will get out of its world of fantasy. **Harry Fries**

"Free World" Germany

HAMBURG, GERMANY

Enclosed herewith an interesting page from the German periodical Der Stern (The Star) of Hamburg. The top picture was taken secretly in a room in which telephone calls of German citizens are overheard by special agents. The lower picture shows bags of German mail being brought to the censor's office for investigation. Officially, and according to our so-called "Basic Law," our rights to the sanctity of our mail are respected; but in reality we have as much right to our mail as an American Negro has to full American citizenship.

I wonder why the Intl. Postal Union has readmitted W. Germany for membership! There are regulations in this Union which prohibit meddling.

Many in Germany would be grateful to you if you would take notice of the Der Stern's pictures. They may serve as a timely warning to all who still don't know that it has been possible for Hitler to establish again his state of snoopers, sluggers and concentration camp officials. **Oscar C. Pfaus**

A Canadian worries

TORONTO, CANADA

I'm terribly concerned about Belfrage. What a blow it would be if the reactionaries succeeded in doing their dirty work by deporting him. It is hard to think normally of the degrading level America has reached. But I suppose as long as we have men of the calibre of Dulles, Brownell, McCarthy, etc., we cannot expect anything better in the immediate future. Their just due will come; I'm confident of that. Enclosed is $5. Wish it could me more. **M. Berke**

Poultry is down

ASHLAND, ALA.

I want very much to begin our monthly donations to the GUARDIAN again, better than previously. Just now we are down financially again. Perhaps poultry (that's our living now) will be better soon. Then we will help out again.

Things look better now with Hallinan back in harness again.
Hardy Scott

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"A free government, with an uncontrolled power of military conscription, is the most ridiculous and abominable contradiction and nonsense that ever entered into the heads of men."

—Daniel Webster, January 14, 1814
In the House of Representatives

REPORT TO READERS

Perpetual Prosperity?

WHEN GENERAL MOTORS splits its stock in three and the Stock Market responds by flying through a hole in the roof, the average American who works for a living scratches his head in bewilderment and turns to page 2. But on page 2 he finds that the vice president in charge of production at American Birdseed or National Chiclet is confidently predicting that the time of boom-and-bust is over: from here on out it's perpetual prosperity, with the outlook for two TV sets in every garage by 1957. Where do you go from there?

Our Tabitha Petran has been wondering, but she has been wondering about more than a split stock and a boom. Last spring, at a staff editorial conference, she talked of the immense confusion about the nature of our economy and of economic crisis. This confusion, she felt, was not confined to the people who were spreading it, nor even to the un-political public which was deluged with it; she thought that even in the progressive movement there were illusions that persisted in spite of scientific proof to the contrary.

So she proposed a series of articles, got the go-ahead and set to work with her research, which included talking to some of the keenest economists and specialists in the field. Some of the questions for which she sought the answers were these:

- Why, in the last 10 years, have so many people been talking as if every little turn in the economy were the beginning of a major crisis?
- Why, when the crisis did not develop, did they consider the problem licked, or lickable, rather than try to find out whether or not there was something wrong with their own thinking?
- Why has the progressive movement fallen for the popular mythology about capitalism instead of making the scientific analysis necessary for an effective political program?

WELL, MISS PETRAN has come up with what she thinks are some of the answers after these months of digging, and the GUARDIAN will present her findings in a series of articles beginning next week (Aug. 1 issue).

This series will be simple, hard-headed and plain-speaking. We hope that it will help people to clearer and more constructive thinking about the American economy; in any case we feel sure it will help clear the air of the mumbo-jumbo jargon with which the bought-and-paid-for economists bombard us in the Sunday magazine "think" pieces.

We'd like to know what you think of the articles; so please write to us about them—even if you don't own one-third of one share of International Popcorn.

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P.S.: In the mailbag this week you will find letters from the higher angels who are holding picnics, barbecues, musicales or just plain old-fashioned get-togethers to help see the GUARDIAN through the summer doldrums. We know that your old rocker, in the southeast corner of the porch (in the flickering shade of the maple), is the coolest spot around, but won't you enjoy it more if you get a little event stirring for the GUARDIAN —and **then** relax?
—THE EDITORS

Bus suit victory spurs fight to end jimcrow on railroad lines

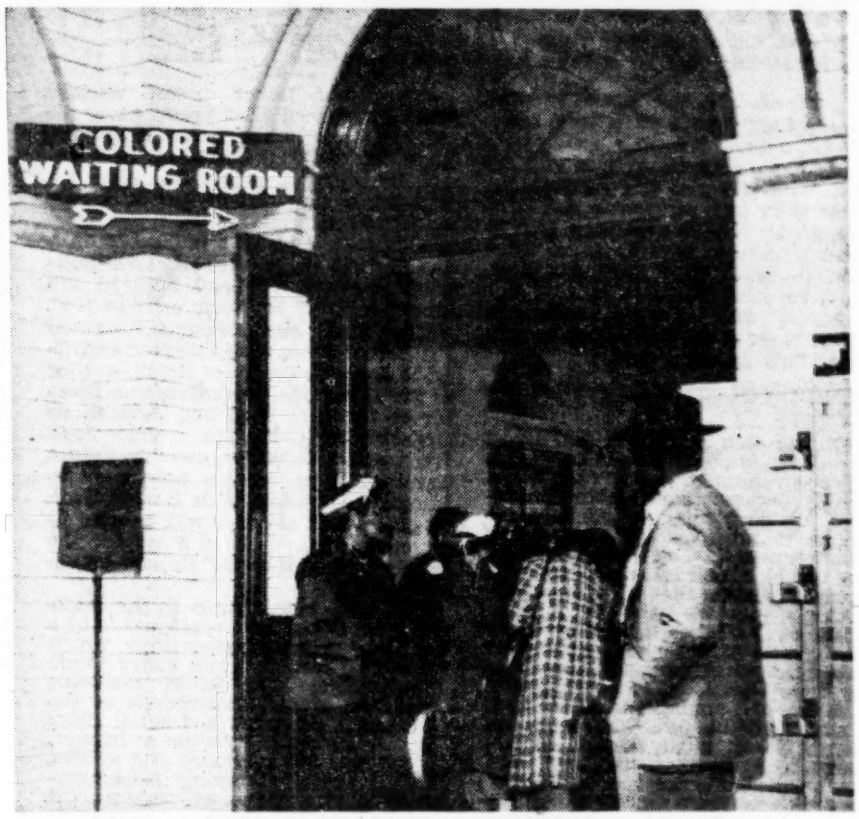
By Eugene Gordon

MRS. SARAH MAY FLEMING, boarding a S. Carolina Gas and Electric Co. bus in Columbia June 22, 1954, took the nearest vacant seat. The driver "in loud, abusive and threatening language and tone," the NAACP reported, ordered her to the rear Negro section. "Frightened," she told her NAACP counsel, "and fearing further humiliation as well as bodily harm," she attempted to leave at the next stop, following a white passenger to the front door. The driver ordered her to get off at the rear "and struck her in the stomach to further force her to obey his order."

Mrs. Fleming a month later filed complaint in the U.S. District Court. Attorneys for the company argued that federal jurisdiction didn't apply to an officer of the state: when a bus driver was enforcing S. Carolina's segregation law he was a state law officer. Bus drivers carry revolvers, just as do members of the regular police. Judge George B. Timmerman, contending that the "separate but equal" doctrine controlled interstate commerce—which includes travel across state lines—ruled that the U.S. Supreme Court decision outlawing segregated public schools did not apply. He dismissed the suit.

VICTORY ON APPEAL: The NAACP in its appeal argued these points:

- The federal court undoubtedly had jurisdiction.
- In enforcing the state jimcrow statute, the bus driver was acting also as a police officer.
- The S. Carolina statute charged the bus company with duty to enforce the law.
- Recent U.S. Supreme Court decisions "have swept away all support for the 'separate but equal' doctrine even as applied to **interstate** commerce."



WAITING ROOM IN THE RAILROAD STATION AT ATLANTA, GA.

The U.S. Court of Appeals in Richmond, Va., last week ruled that the "separate but equal" doctrine "can no longer be regarded as a correct statement of the law" in the field of interstate commerce; declared the high court decision of May 17, 1954, on schools applied to segregation on city buses within the state. The NAACP commented:

> "The decision in this case is highly significant in that it means that segregation in local streetcars, buses and other means of transportation can no longer be enforced. The Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals has jurisdiction over the states of S. Carolina, N. Carolina, W. Virginia, and Maryland. Unless the U.S. Supreme Court reverses this decision . . . the ruling can be applied."

RAILROAD SUIT: Coming up may be perhaps the most important anti-jimcrow case since the Supreme Court schools opinion—a case which will also directly attack jimcrow railroad coaches, waiting-room facilities and eating places in railroad terminals. On July 14 the NAACP appeared before the Interstate Commerce Commission on behalf of 21 persons who, in Dec., 1953, charged 11 railroads, the Richmond (Va.) Terminal Railway Co., and the Union News Co., operator of a restaurant at Richmond's Broad St. Sta. Terminal, with discrimination. Interstate Commerce Commission examiner Howard Hosmer followed with a report that the railroads "subjected Negro passengers to unreasonable disadvantages in violation of Sec. 3 (1), ICC Act." He asked an end to jimcrow interstate travel.

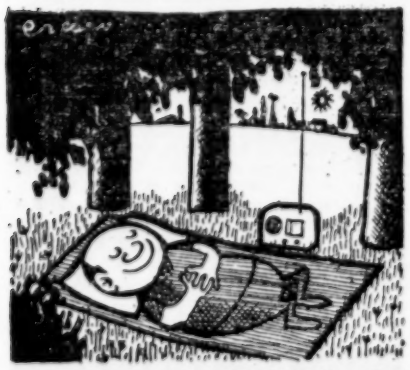
Although the 11 railroads sharply rejected the charges when filed, only two appeared at the July 14 hearing. Attorneys for the Terminals said that although there were "white" and "colored" signs, attendants had been "instructed not to interfere with" Negroes who tried to use the "white" facilities. In answer to the ICC's question why the signs were necessary, the attorneys said: "We want to give the colored people a chance to associate with each other."

War & peace

(Continued from Page 1)

has invariably given first place to the question of Germany's reunification," the **Tass** statement made these points:

- The Western powers have "relegated the question of Germany's unity to second place" and have promoted an armed W. Germany included in their military bloc, sacrificing unity to "plans for the renascence of German militarism."
- "The question whether W. Germany is turned into a military state included in a military group, or whether measures are taken to prevent such development . . . must not be replaced by the subordinate problem of the way elections are held."
- "The Soviet Union opposes the policy of reviving German militarism . . . not because it fears a militarist united Germany, but because such policy leads to an increased threat of a new war [in which] Germany would be in the center of military operations with all the ensuing disasters for the German people."
- How would the Western powers "react if the Soviet Union were to claim" that German reunification could be solved, for example, by a united Germany joining the group signing the Warsaw agreement? Certainly this would not meet with the Western powers' approval.
- German unity is "indissolubly linked with insuring the security of Europe as a whole." If agreement cannot be reached now to unite Germany "on peace-loving and democratic foundations," the problem might be solved "step by step" by first including both E. and W. Germany in "an all-European system of collective security," assuring her a "worthy place" as soon as "a single, democratic, peace-loving Germany is restored."



Escaro in Liberation, Paris

. . . International temperatures, mild; moderate east and west winds in diplomatic high pressure zones.

GLOOMY GERMANY: Following the **Tass** statement, at the NATO foreign ministers' conference in Paris Canada's External Affairs Secy. Lester Pearson asserted that NATO's strength had produced the summit conference and that the Atlantic alliance cannot be bargained away "in any search for new European security arrangements" (N.Y. **Herald Tribune,** 7/17). While Adenauer publicly remained convinced that Moscow was leading from weakness, **Times** correspondent M. S. Handler reported (7/15) from Bonn that the **Tass** statement

> ". . . has plunged W. German politicians and editors into gloom [and] lessened the confidence created in recent months by statements in Washington, London and Bonn that internal weaknesses were compelling the Soviet Union to accept a settlement . . . favorable to the Western powers. . . . Talk of negotiating from strength or policies based on strength has ceased overnight."

AFTER ADENAUER: Walter Lippmann (7/14), noting that Adenauer "neither expects nor desires" negotiations for German unity now but would prefer to wait about three years when he feels he would "be strong enough to obtain reunification with frontiers that are much better than Potsdam," commented:

> ". . . there is no telling who will conclude what [Adenauer] has started. There is no certainty at all that the German government which settles with the Soviet Union will think and feel as does Dr. Adenauer . . . our best hope would seem to lie in working out . . . an all-European security agreement . . . within which the two Germanies would be imbedded. On this point the Soviets appear to be ready to negotiate with us."

ARMS CUT PROGRESS: On disarmament, Washington had not yet replied to Moscow's May 10 note, which put the U.S. on the spot by accepting most of the West's demands. This note brought considerable East-West agreement before the conference on reduction of ordinary forces to specified figures; the stages by which reduction would be carried out, with simultaneous cuts in armaments and financial appropriations; the period when manufacture of nuclear weapons would cease; an international control organ set up by the UN and staffed with international inspectors.

But East and West differed on the powers of the inspectors. Washington wanted unrestricted access for inspectors everywhere at any time in all participating countries; Moscow wanted to limit inspection to strategic locations to watch for "dangerous concentrations" of military forces.

At his July 6 press conference President Eisenhower seemed to have assumed a more flexible attitude towards inspection systems, granting some merit to Soviet objections to unrestricted access. Philip Geylin reported in the **Wall Street Journal** (7/14) that Eisenhower took with him to Geneva a new plan which would

> ". . . keep the UN master-plan for disarmament as a distant goal, and in the meantime push the idea of a step-by-step approach—a series of regional agreements among neighboring nations of the East and West to cut back arms somewhat, or at least not increase them."

PENTAGON VIEWS: According to the **Times'** military analyst Hanson Baldwin (7/17), however, "some Pentagon —and some political—opinion believes strongly" that Moscow "has found the strain of producing both guns and butter extremely difficult"; that the Soviets are promoting disarmament to gain "a breathing spell" of "two to five years" to catch up with Washington's "present nuclear and delivery advantages"; and that any disarmament agreement "which might lessen the strain on the Soviet economy, would play into Moscow's hands." Ignoring all authoritative reports on Soviet air superiority, Baldwin concluded:

> "Obviously, the U.S. cannot refuse to discuss arms limitations. But it can direct . . . discussions so that a limitations agreement—if, indeed, any can be reached—would benefit America more than it would Russia."

Whether the President's new flexibility was merely a tactical change necessitated by Moscow's acceptance of most Western terms on disarmament, or was designed to present new obstacles to agreement, would be shown by the accomplishments of the Geneva conference.

Peace No. 1

THE LATEST Institute of Public Opinion (Gallup) poll discloses that maintaining world peace continues to be the public problem that worries Americans most. Almost half (48%) of those who were asked the question—"What do you regard as the biggest issue, or problem, facing the government in Washington today?" — replied: "Foreign policy problems, working out a peace, dealing with Russia, Red China."

The next biggest total was 6% who were worried about "communism in the U.S." This compares with a 16% response to the same question in June, 1954. The reply to the world peace question percentage-wise was the same as it was last year.

The principal personal worry of the man-in-the-street was how to meet the high cost of living.

Toronto Daily Star

Still blowing his war horn when the world wants peace.

NEVER THE HOPE SO BRIGHT . . . NOR THE NEED SO VITAL

What the Helsinki Peace Assembly did

By Ione Kramer
Special to the Guardian

HELSINKI, FINLAND

CARRIED on the shoulders of the crowd, the young delegate from Viet-Nam, exquisite in her high-spangled turban, threw up her arms to form a "V." The gesture seemed to symbolize the great hope for the future pervading the World Assembly for Peace which, with a rousing 15-minute cheer, closed a week's discussion on ways to permanent peace.

Representatives of varying political opinions, leaders of many religious faiths, speaking several dozen tongues, came here, as China's Vice Premier Kuo Mo-Jo said, "seeking common ground in spite of divergencies." They grappled with issues which seem to baffle statesmen. Never, they agreed, had the hope been so bright—nor the issues so complicated and the need for co-operation so vital.

WHO WAS THERE: To this American reporter, the overwhelming impact of the conference is the realization that peace workers in the U.S. have a legion of friends. Only when one meets this peace movement in person—the slight, smiling Colombian who after eight months in jail for peace activity got out just in time to come to Helsinki; the elderly German woman who recalls the concentration camp too well; the former Chinese army leader who now heads a peace group—only when one meets and hears these people does one realize the extent to which public opinion has stalled the drive to war.

It was the "torrent of national opinion" in Japan following last year's Bikini atomic experiment, said Prof. K. Yasui, which moved the Japanese to initiate their own petition to end such experiments. Now the petition has 24 million signatures. The Japanese delegation proposed that Hiroshima Day, Aug. 6, be commemorated with "a day of protest" and a world conference be held there Aug. 6-9 to ban atomic bombs. This was approved.

FRENCH VOICE: Jean-Paul Sartre said:

> "Either this peace will not be, or it will be imposed by the people on their governments. . . . Peace is not merely perpetuating absence of conflict, of postponing indefinitely recourse to arms by achieving a few compromises . . . not coexistence of the two blocs; for this coexistence already exists and runs the risk of provoking a war. We want peaceful coexistence of all despite the differences of regimes. This cannot be achieved unless the peoples succeed in breaking up these blocs. . . . It is not only a question of banning the bomb with a stroke of the pen. War knows no law: if it breaks out, there is no evidence to show that the bomb will not be used. To prevent the use of the bomb we must prevent war. This is new—simultaneous disarmament demanded by the peoples themselves would, if it took place, amount to a veritable transformation in the history of man."

HOPE IN AFRICA: N'dao Gorgui N'Dene, a serious young Senegalese, secretary of Dakar postal workers union, explained that peace gave the African people a better chance to work their own national liberation. In Senegal, he reported, 400,000 had signed a petition against the H-bomb. Gisele Rabeshala, a pretty young typist from Madagascar, said that in her country the first job was to free the 1,500 political prisoners who had been in jail since a national liberation drive in 1947.

The World Peace Council's annual Intl. Peace Prizes were this year awarded to Josue de Castro of Brazil, author of **The Geography of Hunger,** and director of the UN's Food and Agriculture Organization; Dutch film director Joris Ivens, and Italian film director Cesare Zavattini. A posthumous prize went to Hungarian composer Bela Bartok. Prof. de Castro said his prize will be used to set up an "International Fund for the People Against Hunger." He said its activities will

> ". . . educate the world to the realization of the grave consequence of a state of general hunger from which a million human beings suffer [and] to stimulate the world, including financial groups, in research in the biological, economic and social fields concernng the elimination of hunger.
>
> "To war belong money and armies, money which was wrung from mankind at the price of sorrow and misery for two-thirds of mankind; and armies, the basis of whose existence is knowledge in the service of destruction. To peace belong love and bread. . . . I am certain that they will triumph over the atom bomb."

COMMUNIST-DOMINATED? Rev. C. C. Candy, Anglican minister of St. Ciprian's, Toronto, leader of the Church Peace Mission there, asked: "Is this Congress Communist-dominated?" Prof. Bernard Lavergne of the Paris Univ. law faculty replied:

> "At the present time, a majority of the members of the bureau of our [French] peace movement are non-Communist. Peace is . . . the supreme good for all peoples, and so anyone with a minimum of intelligence or even good sense should join. . . . It is therefore entirely false to say that at the present time the peace movement is a communist organization."

A statement unanimously approved by 25 official and unofficial observers from such groups as the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Society of Friends, War Resisters Intl., Women's Intl. League for Peace and Freedom and Scandinavian peace organizations, stated:

> "We have a strong impression that the spiritual development which is taking place in the World Peace Movement is a result of its collaboration in a constructive sense with personalities who believe in principles of non-violence. We strongly recommend this collaboration to all pacifists and their organizations."

GOD'S WILL: Another statement signed by 30 Christian clergymen read:

> "We appeal to all Christians to join in the peace movements of their countries. Every Christian must ask himself: 'What is God's will: atomic war or peace?' "

Observer Umberto Zappuli, member of the Italian Natl. Council of Christian Democratic Youth (Catholic), said:

> "The present European situation does not satisfy the deep-seated demands felt by the Catholic world; it is even more serious in that the Catholic countries risk being separated from world politics or of being tightly bound to American control. . . . We must break the barrier. . . . We should re-establish contact between the eastern and western world."

THE RESOLUTIONS: Resolutions adopted by the Assembly included: destruction of stocks of A-weapons through a general framework of disarmament; quick reunification of Germany; strict adherence in letter and principle to the Geneva agreement on Viet-Nam; universal UN membership, including China; an open conference on Korea as soon as possible; a world medical conference to study effects of nuclear weapons. Rev. Candy told the GUARDIAN:

> "The resolutions really represented the feeling of the group. I've found mixing with clergymen of the East has given me a completely different view. [Metropolitan] Nikolai [of the U.S.S.R.] doesn't seem like a person who can be pushed around. I'm going back to Canada to sort out my ideas."

JEAN-PAUL SARTRE
The meaning of peace

A FREEDOM CHARTER FOR SO. AFRICA

Kliptown Assembly

IN AN OPEN FIELD at Kliptown, suburb of Johannesburg, 3,000 Africans, Indians, Cape Coloreds (of mixed ancestry) and some whites gathered June 25-26 in a Congress of the People to forge a Freedom Charter for South Africa.

The assembly was planned a year ago by "The Four Congresses"—African Natl. Congress, S. African Congress, S. African Colored Peoples' Organization and Congress of the Democrats (a new white organization). The call to the Congress said simply: "Let us speak together. Let us speak of freedom."

Th Africans met despite government persecution of their leaders and a ban on all public gatherings. Delegates traveled great distances (1,000 miles from Cape Town to Johannesburg) at prohibitive cost ($35 for some delegates, paid for mainly by workers earning $4.20 a week).

LET PEOPLE RULE: On the afternoon of the second day, armed police

> ". . . searched everyone present, took names and addresses and confiscated speakers' notes, literature and banners. Speeches . . . were recorded by police stenographers" (N.Y. **Times,** 6/28).

The Freedom Charter adopted after full discussion, proclaimed, "The people shall govern," called for land redistribution and government ownership of banks, mines and basic industries; demanded "social, political and economic equality for all S. Africans."

The London **Observer** reported (6/19) that the S. African government's four-year-long secret inquiry into journalism and "cross-questioning" of foreign correspondents had resulted in "a creeping stranglehold over news reporting so that criticism of [government] policy is impossible." U.S. press coverage of the Congress showed signs of strangulation. The N.Y. **Herald Tribune** failed to mention it; the **Christian Science Monitor** gave it less than seven lines; and the N.Y. **Times** (6/28) saw in it an effort "to sow seeds of communism among S. Africa's ten million Negroes."

STRIJDOM'S FASCISM: No report related the Congress to these efforts of Premier Johannes Strijdom's government to transform S. Africa into a full-fledged fascist state by:

- Ruthless enforcement of segregation laws, now forcing relocation of whites as well as non-whites; officials have stated that "centers of white settlement within the areas being set aside for Africans also must be eliminated" and have ordered that "18,000 whites in the Transkei area must move" (NYT, 6/2).
- Increased control and limitation of education of the Africans.
- Extension of police powers to enter homes, attend private gatherings without warrants.
- New passport restrictions and stiff penalties for persons leaving S. Africa without official permission.
- Supreme Court packing by increasing its membership from five to 11, ensuring favorable verdicts for Strijdom's laws.
- Increasing the Senate from 48 to 89, guaranteeing a two-thirds majority for Strijdom's National Party representatives.

PREMIER STRIJDOM
The face of hatred

WILL OF GOD: While Strijdom pushed through the Senate-packing bill, thugs roamed Johannesburg threatening women who tried to sign a nation-wide petition against it. Nevertheless, the London **Daily Express** reported (6/15) that 80,000 white women signed.

The Opposition United Party charged —without government denial—that its members' mail was being opened in the post office and their phones were being tapped. Interior Minister Donges threatened that, if the bill were not passed, "it may be necessary . . . to nominate the whole Senate" (London **News Chronicle,** 6/10). The opposition accused Justice Minister Swart of blasphemy when he declared: "We are not in power by chance, but by the will of God" (**CSM,** 6/17).

All these measures gave the Strijdom administration what the N.Y. **Times** (6/24) called

> ". . . virtually unlimited opportunity to do exactly as it wishes in determining the political, social and economic structure of S. Africa."

MAY IT COME: Not only Strijdom and his Nationalists but the Dutch Reformed Churches have been ardently supporting segregation. The report of a church board commission to inquire into "the scriptural grounds for race relations" said that God not only willed different races but perpetuated them. The board rejected the report only because it was "illogical in parts" and "not suitable for overseas distribution."

The United Party's opposition was weak, since it too shared the belief in segregation, and complained only that Strijdom's policy might "affect the availability of native labor" (NYT, 6/24).

It was a different kind of opposition that gathered at Kliptown—encouraged by the pledges of support at Bandoeng, demanding freedom for all S. Africans, chanting the Zulu word "Mayibuye" which means, "May it come."

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THE PRESS

'Times' bows to witch-hunt; 'Nation' gets a 'smear job'

THREE major New York City daily newspapers and the weekly, **The Nation,** were under attack last week as the Senate Internal Security subcommittee held public hearings on what it called Communist infiltration of the press. Although public hearings were in indefinite recess, it was believed the probe was continuing in secret sessions.

Three witnesses who invoked the Fifth Amendment in refusing to answer questions about their past affiliations and associations were fired from their jobs Melvin L. Barnet, a **N. Y. Times** copy editor, was told that his action "caused the **Times** to lose confidence in you." David Gordon, reporter for the **N. Y. Daily News,** was informed that "your conduct . . . has destroyed your usefulness to **The News.**" Amos Landman, former **N. Y. Mirror** reporter, was fired as publicity director by the Natl. Muncipal League.

Others who admitted past membership in the Communist Party in the late Thirties and identified some of their fellow members kept their jobs.

MATUSOW PROBE: The Nation found itself in difficulties through the continuing Federal grand jury investigation of Harvey Matusow, the government's recanting witness. R. Lawrence Siegel, general counsel for the magazine, Miss Hadassah R. Shapiro, his law associate, and Martin Solow, assistant to the publisher, were indicted on 12 counts of conspiracy to obstruct justice and of perjury. They were charged with having destroyed or falsified memoranda of meetings between themselves and Matusow. Matusow himself was indicted on six counts of perjury for insisting that Roy Cohn, former U. S. attorney, induced him to testify falsely in a New York City Smith Act trial.

None of the newspapers involved in the Senate inquiry protested the action, but **The Nation** warned that the committee's "real concern is with the American press":

> "Once again, the American press failed to meet with unanimity, vigor and intelligence a clear challenge to the guarantee of its freedom set forth in the First Amendment."

SOONER OR LATER: The current grilling of newsmen it called

> ". . . merely the latest in a long chain of incidents in which Congressional committees have been indirectly insisting on their right to demand an accounting from American editors of what they publish as news and of what appears in their editorial columns. . . . Sooner or later the press will have to stand its ground."

MELVIN BARNET
Principle before employment

Freda Kirchwey, editor and publisher of **The Nation,** called the indictments of her own employes "shocking" and said:

> "Any attempt to involve **The Nation** [in the Matusow matter] is wanton nonsense. It can only be interpreted as a desire to smear and silence a publication which has played a leading role in attacking the use of political informers."

The N. Y. Newspaper Guild announced it would "do its utmost" to win the reinstatement of Barnet and Gordon.

I. F. Stone's Weekly commented on the **Times** firing:

> "How can the **Times** editorially support the Fifth Amendment and discharge those who invoke it? Reactionaries have long been gunning for the **Times.** Its brand of independent conservatism is unpalatable to them. To smear it and break it morally was one of McCarthy's objectives. In discharging Barnet, it gives its employes a choice of becoming informers before Eastland (and almost certainly involving others on its staff) or losing their jobs. Instead of standing on First and Fifth amendment principles, Sulzberger invites the witch hunters in. The consequences for his paper and others may be serious."

OK TO FIRE, BUT . . .: The Washington **Post** condoned the firings and declared that ex-Communists should confess and name others, but it nevertheless saw a threat to freedom of the press and said that "if the committee is now . . . to make the press the particlar object of investigation we think American principles will be endangered by the committee":

> "Such an endeavor will have all the appearance of a studied effort to browbeat and intimidate the press into compliance with the political ideas of the committee. . . . Supervision of the press is not one of the functions which the Constitution entrusted to Congress."

But Sen. James Eastland (D-Miss.), committee chairman, was happy. **He** said:

> "We've gotten more co-operation from newspaper men than from any other group in the country, and we have witnesses from most of the professions."

Hand of God

This was the drama-packed farewell dialogue between departing Secy. Hobby and the President when she resigned last week:

MRS. HOBBY: I know this country would have been blessed at any time to have had your leadership, but in these crucial years on world affairs, I truly feel that God has had his hand on the United States in the kind of leadership you have given us.

THE PRESIDENT: Oveta, if I had known that you felt like that, I never would have accepted your letter of resignation.

Read your own paper, Mr. Sulzberger?

On Dec. 7, 1952, the N. Y. Times, which fired Melvin Barnet for invoking the Fifth Amendment before the Eastland Committee, printed a letter from Harold H. Corbin, a noted trial lawyer. It set forth with crystal clarity the reasons for the privilege. The letter follows in part.

"Everyone acquainted with criminal practice knows that many an innocent person has brought about his own indictment by waiving his constitutional privilege and unwittingly supplying some missing link in a chain of circumstantial evidence tending to connect him with the commission of a crime. The pitfalls and dangers of testifying without immunity are so obscure and so manifold that experienced lawyers do not permit a client to thus testify, however certain they may be of his innocence.

"Lawyers, of all men, should know and understand the origin and reason for the constitutional privilege—which was to protect innocent witnesses against the inquisitorial and manifestly unjust methods of interrogating witnesses, the temptation of prosecutors to press, browbeat and entrap them into fatal contradictions, and against the zeal of the prosecutor and public clamor for the punishment of crime.

"The tendencies were painfully evident in the earlier state trials prior to the expulsion of the Stuarts from the British throne in 1688. They made the English system of criminal prosecution so odious that it was abolished and replaced in part by this rule against self-incrimination. And when our Union was formed, the American colonists, still conscious of the iniquities and oppressive features of the prior practice, carried the rule into the fundamental law of all the states and clothed it with the impregnability of a constitutional enactment.

". . . while it lives, as it should live always, let us not misinterpret or discredit or disparage those who invoke its protection."

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Earl Robinson gives 2 concerts in Los Angeles

THE First Unitarian Church, 2936 W. 8th St., Los Angeles, will present Earl Robinson, composer and balladeer, in two concerts at the church auditorium, Fri. at 8:30 p.m., July 29, and Sun. at 2 p.m., July 31.

A feature of the Friday concert will be a special version of **Sandhog,** Robinson's new American folk-opera. A large chorus and soloists will assist.

For his Sunday afternoon concert, Robinson will present a family-concert style program of well-known songs for adults and special songs for children.

Admission is $1 for each performance (50c for children Sunday). Tickets are now on sale at the church and by mail order. The church will benefit.

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CHINA NEWS CASE

Editor Moy loses appeal on jail term

THE U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals has upheld the conviction of Eugene Moy, editor of the Chinese-language **China Daily News**, on a charge of "trading with the enemy." The conviction carried with it a 2-year sentence and fine of $25,000, a sum which could well put the small progressive daily out of business. A request will be made for a rehearing in the Appeals Court. In his opinion, approved by the other two justices, Judge Charles E. Clark indicated that the court felt the punishment might be excessive.

The actual charge at the trial in June, 1954, was that the **China Daily News**, published in New York, had extended credit of $150 and accepted payment of $180 for ads placed in the paper by two Hong Kong banks. In the ads the banks offered to transmit money from overseas Chinese to their families on the mainland. The government said this constituted trading with the enemy. Paul L. Ross, Moy's attorney, maintained that the Trading With the Enemy Act did not apply, since the U.S. was not at war with China. He contended further that there was nothing illegal in doing business with banks in a British Crown Colony.

THE "MOTIVE": In passing sentence, District Judge Sylvester J. Ryan said he had to consider the paper's view (anti-Chiang) to determine its "motive," because "ideas are often motives that prompt evil acts." Moy, who is free in $2,500 bail, said in a statement to the court at the time:

"It is only because our newspaper's policy differs from the policy of certain other Chinese-language newspapers, and because we sometimes disagree with the present foreign policy of the Administration, that the government agencies began to prosecute us in 1951. . . . I made no profit out of the advertisements; we handled no remittances; we made no money out of remittances; we merely performed the customary function of a newspaper; we published ads. . . ."

Giving weight to the charge that the Moy persecution is part of Atty. Gen. Brownell's campaign to silence the progressive foreign-language press is the fact that other Chinese-language dailies, which carried Hong Kong bank ads even after the **China Daily News** stopped at the request of the Treasury Dept., have not been prosecuted.

15,000 sign ALP petition to Geneva

MORE than 15,000 signatures to a petition addressed to President Eisenhower welcoming the Four-Power Conference were air-mailed to the President at Geneva on July 10, it was announced by the N.Y. State American Labor Party. The petition urged the President "to let nothing stand in the way of reaching agreements at the conference."

The signatures were gathered by ALP clubs in New York City in homes, shops and street.

BOOKS

'No Farewell'—a novel about rise of fascism

By Albert Maltz

GERDA LERNER
There were no waltzes

THE highest achievement of the novelist's art is the depiction of human beings with truth and depth. For this reason one of the richest of all literary themes is the behavior of individuals in a period of social crisis. At such times people reveal themselves nakedly. Some are forced to make long-delayed decisions of a decisive character; others change rapidly and find new directions in life.

Moreover, insight into individuals in a period of social crisis is inevitably insight into their society, their time, the complex personal and class factors that have shaped them. These things Gerda Lerner understands well, and she dramatizes them with skill in her rewarding first novel.*

VIENNA, 1934-38: No Farewell is a tale of a group of varied individuals in 1934-8 in Vienna, when a succession of reactionary governments broke the power of the Social Democratic labor movement in Austria and delivered the nation and the people into the hands of Hitler. One of the fine achievements of the novel is that one cannot guess in advance how the characters will react to the enveloping crisis—and yet, as their development unfolds, it does so truly.

There is Dr. Bergschmidt, Socialist member of Parliament, a workingclass leader for two decades. Largely we see him in his private life—with his wife and children, with his mistress, in his coffee house; yet we know his public role more sharply because of his private behavior. This is a man whose tragic development it would be easy to characterize with contempt alone. But one of the mature virtues of this novel is that the author not only reveals but she understands profoundly—so we, as readers, can understand as we evaluate. She is portraying not only the behavior of human beings at a convulsive time, but the complexity that is part of their humanity.

FATHER AND SON: It is precisely because she understands Dr. Bergschmidt, who has not the strength to sacrifice his comfort and security, that she also understands his son Gustl, who willingly gives up comfort and career to fight fascism; and that she also makes so human the confusions and the fears of Gustl's sweetheart.

Miss Lerner is also aware that history unfolds not abstractly but through the brave deeds or wretched failures of human beings. There is a stunning scene of a family birthday party. It is February, 1934, the family is well-to-do, the atmosphere convivial. All is as it should be—except that the walls keep shaking from the repeated blasts of artillery in another part of the city. In that other part—a worker's housing development famous over the world as Karl Marx Hof—men, women, and children are dying under the shells of the military.

ONE FAMILY: This is a Jewish family and the workers are spilling their blood to beat back fascism. Yet they do not understand. The father, a manufacturer, wants the workers defeated; the mother, an artist, wants nothing but tranquility in which to paint the beauty of flowers; the daughter, who ultimately comes to understand, is frightened and bewildered.

I have not been attempting a review of this novel in the conventional sense. There are not a few aspects in which **No Farewell** falls short of what it might have been. The historical events, clear to Austrian readers, require more interpretation for Americans. Some of the main characters leave questions about them unanswered.

But it is a book not to be missed by thoughtful readers. What it offers is illumination of people and the world—of our world as well as that of Austria 20 years ago. The author writes of people with sensitivity and compassion. She is an artist of integrity and quality.

**NO FAREWELL, by Gerda Lerner. Associated Authors, P.O. Box 274, Cooper Station, N.Y.C. 3. 248 pp. $3.*

2 rare Shaw plays at Greenwich Mews

THE Greenwich Mews Theatre, 141 W. 13th St., Manhattan, will present two plays by George Bernard Shaw to commemorate the approaching 100th anniversary of his birth. **The Philanderer**, which has not been seen in New York since 1913, is being directed by Patricia Reynolds and will play Thursdays, Fridays, and Saturdays, the weeks of July 21, 28, Aug. 4. **A Village Wooing**, which has never had a New York run, will play Thursdays through Saturdays, the weeks of Aug. 11, 18, and 25.

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Dixon-Yates deal

(Continued from Page 1)

director—became the trustee for the insurance companies that were to buy Dixon-Yates bonds and finance the undertaking.

All this was kept a careful secret when public power advocates began protesting the Dixon-Yates deal and the matter became a hot public controversy. Everybody, from the President down, denied that Wenzell had any hand in the matter. It wasn't until Feb. 18, 1955, that Sen. Lister Hill (D-Ala.) began to smoke out the truth. On that day he said:

> "There exists persuasive evidence that this man [Wenzell] participated in conferences and meetings which were held in the Budget Bureau on the Dixon-Yates matter, at the very time the First Boston company was making arrangements for financing the Dixon-Yates plant. . . . It is clear that important facts and circumstances surrounding the transaction were concealed."

THE APPROPRIATION: Denials of this charge were heated. But it was true that the Budget Bureau's own version of the scheme—which was published at President Eisenhower's direction—omitted any mention of Wenzell and his firm. As late as June 29, the day before he was forced to take the first step toward cancellation of the D-Y contract, President Eisenhower declared that "every single pertinent paper" had been made public and denied again that Wenzell had any hand in the D-Y scheme.

Meanwhile D-Y opponents in Congress were attempting to kill the plan by blocking off a $6,500,000 appropriation for transmission lines to link the D-Y plant with the TVA system. On June 10 the House Appropriations Committee deleted this item in a public works bill, but it was known that the vote in the House would be close.

As the House was about to begin debate on the matter, Wenzell was scheduled to appear before the Securities & Exchange Commission which was considering the D-Y financing plans. Without notice or explanation, the hearings were halted on June 13, resumed again on June 16 when it was too late for Wenzell's testimony to influence the House vote—which sustained the transmission line fund.

DID WE DO IT, MR. DIXON? . . . NOT QUITE, MR. YATES

You've read so much about them we thought you'd like to have a look at these two sterling citizens: l., Edgar H. Dixon; r, Eugene Yates

SHERM TOLD HIM: Last week SEC chairman J. Sinclair Armstrong was called before the Kefauver committee to explain why the D-Y hearing was suddenly interrupted; he refused to tell. Threatened with contempt, he was given overnight to change his mind. Next day, on advice of Atty Gen. Brownell, he admitted that the halt was made at the request of Sherman Adams, assistant to the President. But he refused to say if the pending House vote was discussed, now has until July 19 to consult with Brownell again to see if he should answer.

The scandal now was coming into the open. Wenzell, when he did testify, readily admitted that he had been in on the D-Y planning from the start. Not only that, but it became known that Lewis Strauss, chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, was in on the deal from the beginning; it was his agency that was personally ordered by Eisenhower to sign the D-Y contract. Sen. Clinton Anderson (D-N.M.), chairman of the Joint Atomic Energy Committee, had in his possssion AEC records showing that Strauss had been visited on Jan. 20 not only by Wenzell, but by Mr. Dixon himself and another official of the First Boston Corp.

However, the President was still insisting that Wenzell "was never called in or asked a single thing about the Dixon-Yates contract."

OFF THE FAIRWAY: The whole shoddy scheme began to collapse on June 30. On that day, at 8 p.m., Budget Bureau director Hughes was to appear before the Kefauver committee. White House aides were worried. Finally they got hold of the President on his favorite golf course and brought him back to the White House. Newsmen were told to stand by for a hot story. At 7 p.m., a most unusual hour, the announcement was made that the President was ordering a check to see if the D-Y contract should be cancelled. On July 11 the cancellation order was issued.

The convenient excuse for this action was the decision of the City of Memphis to build its own power plant, thus making the D-Y project unnecessary. The only trouble with this easy out is that the Memphis determination was known for months.

Hughes and Strauss are now apparently letting Wenzell become the fall guy for the whole mess. Wenzell insists that at one stage of the D-Y planning he told Hughes that his position—as an officer of the First Boston Corp.—was becoming embarrassing and that Hughes sympathized with him. But Hughes says he never knew the First Boston Corp. became the financing agent of the deal and said he didn't believe it even when the fact was confirmed to him.

WHAT ABOUT IKE? Wenzell also has testified that he introduced himself to Strauss as a representative of the Budget Bureau, but Strauss now says he never knew Wenzell other than as an officer of the First Boston Corp.

Meanwhile the President is on an uncomfortable spot. Either he was totally misinformed—or uninformed—of what was going on, or else he knew and approved of it all from the start. If he was misled, then there surely should be some sudden separations of some people from the government. If there are no such dismissals, then the people have a right to wonder at the nature of the Eisenhower "moral crusade."

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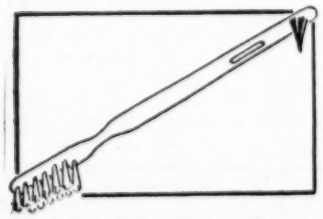

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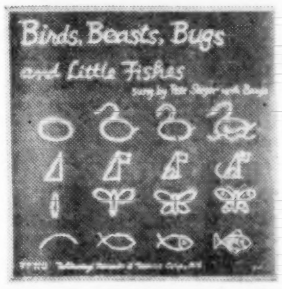

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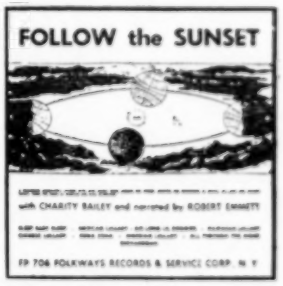

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the SPECTATOR

What Asia thinks of us

Following are excerpts of a remarkably frank address given by Premier Nu of Burma before the Overseas Press Club July 6:

AS IS ONLY TO BE EXPECTED, Asians hold all sorts of views about Americans. These range all the way from those who think the Americans are heroes, brave men and women whose mission is to make a happier world for all, to those who see Americans as a race of war mongers, spoiling for a fight. . . .

Those who think of the Americans as heroes do so because of your history, your experience, your traditions and your devotion to the principles of freedom and democracy . . . that have been the inspiration and hope of Asia for more than half a century. Among them are the following:

(1) All men are created equal and must be equal before the law.

(2) All men are endowed with certain inalienable rights which it is wrong and immoral of any Government to deny or curtail.

(3) A right and moral government is a government of the people, by the people, for the people, devoted to the greatest good of the greatest number.

(4) A right and moral government is a government of laws, not of men, which derives its powers from the consent of the governed.

THESE ARE TREMENDOUS IDEAS. They are more explosive, more powerful in their effects upon world history than all the weapons in all the arsenals. As is only to be expeced, they had a tremendous impact on Asia.

Your glorious record in the two world wars in which you undoubtedly saved the world from tryranny, at great sacrifice and expense, cannot be ignored or belittled even by your most severe critics; and finally your post-World War II record, in which you have given so much of your substance to help the war-devastated countries to recover and to rebuild their shattered economies is entirely without precedent.

With such an impressive record behind you . . . the surprising thing is that there should be anyone in Asia who is dubious about America and Americans. But unfortunately there are such people, and I would like now to go into the reasons.

ONE VERY IMPORTANT REASON is the equivocal position which you seem to have taken in recent years on colonial issues. To an Asia which had come to regard America as . . . the spearhead of the attack against colonialism this has indeed been . . . a great shock. . . . Explanations which have been given, to the effect that colonialism is dying, and that a new and even greater danger has emerged, have left nearly all of Asia unconvinced. For we had come to believe, partly as a result of your own teaching, that two wrongs do not constitute a right. For it is not sufficient with us that we have gained independence for ourselves. What we have secured for ourselves we want for the other peoples of the world who still live in colonial bondage. It is a matter of morality and conscience. . . .

A second reason is similar to the first. It is an apparent change in America's attitude towards the concept of democracy and the democratic way of life. It is something of a surprise to those who put their faith in democracy . . . when they see this great country allying itself with, and giving support to, regimes which by no stretch of the imagination can be regarded as "Governments of the people, for the people, by the people." To make matters worse, some of the undemocratic, corrupt, and discredited regimes which are being so supported have already been repudiated by the people concerned. The effect of this on some Asian minds has been to build up the impression that America is against change, that it wishes to preserve the status quo, even where this is against the wishes of the people. . . .

A THIRD SOURCE of misunderstanding between America and Asia stems from the activities and statements of some of your leaders, and a portion of your press. These are the people who are responsible for building the impression abroad that America is a land of war-mongers, thirsting for another war regardless of its consequences. . . . It is but natural that Americans should be proud of their achievements and wish to talk about them. . . . It is something to talk about. And if it ended there, in talking about peaceful progress, no damage would be done. But as I have said, unfortunately it does not end there. Just as some Americans talk with some justifiable pride about having the tallest and the biggest buildings in the world, others talk about having the biggest and latest hydrogen bombs, the fastest and largest jet bombers; and they often round off the story by giving a vivid account of what these new weapons might be capable of doing in the way of destruction on some named target in a foreign country. This has created the most unfortunate impressions in the minds of some Asians.

I personally do not believe that Americans are war-mongers. You have far too much to lose to want to risk war. I wish I could say that all Asians, or even all Burmans, feel as I do. Unfortunately, I cannot.

WE ALL KNOW what lies behind these apparent deviations from the American tradition. It is your preoccupation with communism. But this is something that we in Asia just do not understand. The U.S. is today the most powerful country in the world. It also has one of the highest standards of living. . . . Over the years, it has earned the esteem and good will of all people who value freedom and the democratic way of life. These are all solid assets. In fact, I would say that no nation in the history of the world has occupied the predominant position which the U.S. occupies today.

That is why I am constantly surprised that the U.S. tends to exaggerate its fear of the menace of Communism. And when a nation becomes obsessed with fear, it is no longer quite itself. It tends to resort to expediency at the expense of principle. It tends to forget the things which helped to make it great, and begins to look for some new means of preserving its greatness.

I am convinced that what is required to remove such misunderstanding as exists in Asia of the U.S. is for the U.S. to become itself, to live up to its heritage, and to the great prinsiples which it spawned. If this is done, you will, I feel sure, not only remove all such misunderstanding, but you will be surprised at the results not only in Asia but throughout the world.